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NEW MIDEAST EXPLOSION

Washington blind as alliances crack

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE MIDDLE EAST, in North Africa, in Western Europe, recent events indicated a weakening of the "positions of strength" which Washington has been building so industriously. But while a revulsion against U.S. policies manifested itself in various ways, Washington went its way apparently blind to the changes taking place abroad.

The violent upheaval in Jordan seemed to have been caused by an attempt by young King Hussein to hold on to his shaky throne by trying to line up with the U.S.—in the face of widespread popular opposition. Ever since Jordan broke away from British control and adopted the neutralist policy of Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia, Hussein has been afraid his throne would topple. Especially since the proclamation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, he has been trying to line Jordan up with Iraq—a member of the Baghdad Pact and ruled by Hussein's cousin.

NATION IN TURMOIL: On April 10 Hussein dismissed the government of Premier Nabulsi, a coalition of the National Socialists, the left-of-center al Baath (Arab Resurrection Party) and National Bloc, and the Arab Constitution Party. His attempt to set up another government failed, since the Nabulsi coalition had overwhelming popular support.

On April 13 large crowds in Jordan's cities demonstrated against "American imperialist projects such as the Eisenhower Doctrine for the Middle East" and

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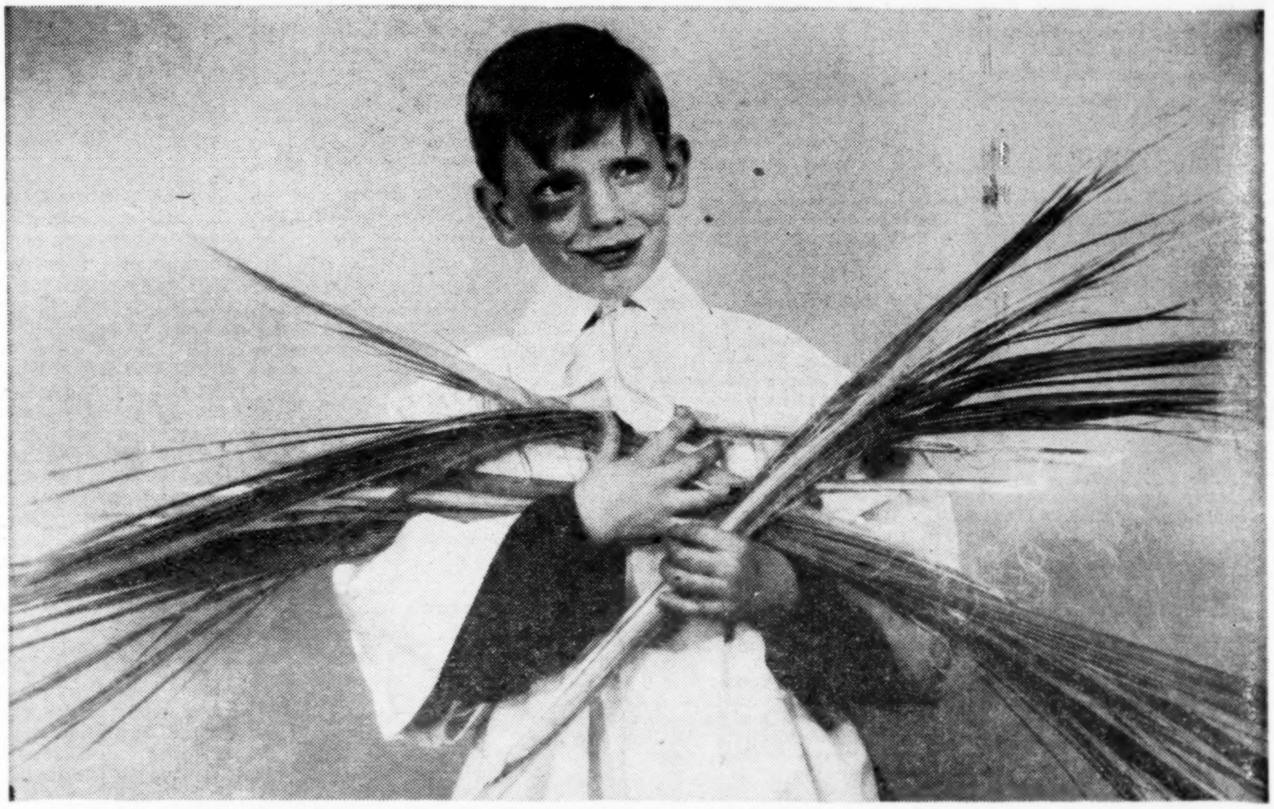

"I HAVE A GOOD EYE. UNCLE; I CAN SEE A CHURCH BY DAYLIGHT" . . . Shakespeare: Much Ado About Nothing
That's probably what Pat Callahan, 8, of Chicago said when he came home from school with his shiner for Easter

HOW MANY MORE YEARS OF "ABUSE AND INSULT"?

Un-Americans' music quiz sours New York

By Lawrence Emery

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities spent four days in New York beginning April 9 hunting for subversive influences in the world of music, but its effect on the Big City was one of boredom or disgust, or both. The New York Civil Liberties Union greeted the group with the declaration that it has "outlived its usefulness" and called on Congress to put it out of business by refusing to appropriate any more money for it.

Said the NYCLU: "For 18 years now, we have endured the grotesque antics of this Congressional roadshow on its trips around the country. Its contributions to constructive legislation have been meager. The Committee has consistently invaded the individual's rights to free speech and association. It has insulted and abused witnesses . . It has used headlines and inspired publicity which have jeopardized the reputation and livelihood of persons guiltless of any legal crime. Actions such as these aroused a mounting sense of outrage and disgust among decent Americans."

. . Murray Kempton, columnist for the N. Y. **Post**, had even harsher words for the Committee: "It is, in the increasing desperation of its rag-picking, now revealed as tawdry, stupid and malignant. Its conduct is no longer a matter of taste. It is ugly and dirty and we are all ugly

(Continued on Page 9)

JACK SOBLE (1.) AND HIS WIFE MYRA LEAVE FEDERAL COURT
After they had changed their plea to guilty

THE NEW YORK ESPIONAGE CASE

Sobles change plea to guilty, avoid possible death sentence

JACK AND MYRA SOBLE came before Federal Judge Richard H. Levet on April 10 and pleaded guilty to one of the six counts of espionage for which they were indicted. They said in effect that they had conspired with Soviet officials and with Jacob Albam (who continues to maintain his innocence) to gather U.S. defense data for transmission to the Soviet Union.

What lies behind that plea, which could mean for each of the Sobles a sentence of 10 years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine, and what lies ahead in the developing hunt for "spies" by a 23-man Federal grand jury, were matters for speculation.

When the Sobles and Albam were arraigned on Feb. 13 all three pleaded innocent and Mrs. Soble declared herself "not guilty" in a voice that reporters called confident and defiant. Five days later Jack Soble was found on the floor near his cot in the Bronx Federal House of Detention "with his eyes open but unconscious." He was rushed to Bellevue Hospital and was kept three weeks in the psychiatric division there.

PSYCHIATRIC REPORT: The actual report of the Bellevue psychiatrists was marked "confidential" but U.S. Attorney Paul Williams told the court on April 1 that the findings indicated that although Soble had "shown depressive symptoms with anxiety features" they had "never reached psychotic proportions" and that he was therefore able to stand trial. According to Williams, the report said Soble is "the type of individual who, under pressure, could develop another depressive state."

On April 9 Judge Richard H. Levet ruled that Soble was fit for trial and set May 22 as trial date for all three. Then, on

(Continued on Page 10)

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Georgia Interracial Farmers Shot at Selves, Jury Finds

Washington, Apr. 5 — A county grand jury in Georgia charged today that shootings, burnings and bombings at the Koinonia Farm, an interracial community near Americus, Ga., were perpetrated by members of the farm community.

N.Y. Herald Tribune, 4/6

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: R. Knack, Hortonville, N.Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Easter thought

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

War is disobedience to the commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Kill." We must stop this hypocrisy and quit participating in wars, or take the Sermon on the Mount out of the Bible, if we want to make our religious ideals consistent with principles.

We must make the sentiment of Easter a plea to the leaders of all nations to come to realize this collective wickedness of depending on physical force.

Harold E. Fackert

Revision

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Is it not high time to revise "Thou shalt not steal" to a Commandment as explicit as: "Thou shalt not take from another that which he has created by his own honest labor"?

Veni Vidi

Which way collaboration?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. Nehru on his last visit here said that Marxism was obsolete. Later, at the time of the Cairo bombings, quite consistently with this point of view, he denounced British imperialism for what it was doing to the Egyptian people while continuing to nourish British imperialism by assisting British capital to obtain a wide field of investment in India.

The question arises, how far can you carry class-collaboration and continue to claim to be a consistent champion of the interests of working people?

When we look at China and India, two countries with planned economies each claiming to serve the best interests of the majority of its people, we see that the Governments of these countries do not hesitate to call upon all classes to help build the country.

Is there a qualitative difference between the type of class-collaboration carried on in China where you have a people's government at the helm of affairs, and the type of class-collaboration practiced in India, where, as over here, you still have a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie?

P. Van Wyck

Let's get together

FAIRDEALING, MO.

Mankind is faced with a monstrous problem to be solved; it cannot be solved by hero worship or by following leaders; this problem must be faced and solved in a democratic manner by a majority of the people. The present system of world capitalism divided into warring groups endangers the well-being and the very lives of all mankind.

The issue at hand involves bringing to an end the warring, oppressive and murderous system of world capitalism, to be replaced with the Rights of Humanity to own in common all means for producing and distributing wealth for the common good of all and in accordance with their ability to produce to serve human needs to the utmost.

Capitalism can never adjust itself to a lasting world peace.

An AP item by Relman Morin, under the heading "Foreign Aid Cold War With Reds May Go On For 50 Years," appeared in the daily **American Republic**, Poplar Bluff, Mo., April 5. The article says: "The programs over 10 years have cost an estimated 56 billion dollars. That's about $330 to every American man, woman and child. What's the outlook? More of the same."

I appeal to my fellowman in all parts of the world; let's get together and see what we can do to better the condition of mankind.

J. T. Landis

Friend indeed

HAVERHILL, MASS.

Mossadegh was violently overthrown by Marshall Fazola Zahedi whose government received a gift of 45 million dollars from the U. S.

Iran's oil is exploited by the English and American owned Iranian Oil Co. The nationalization of the oil would have benefited the poverty-stricken Iranians, but when Mossadegh tried to get a loan from the U. S. he was refused. Mossadegh wanted to buy off the foreign stockholders in the Iranian Co. and produce oil for the benefit of Iran.

Now Iran is ruled by a "friendly" government, one friendly to the U. S., England and the Iranian Oil Co., and there is so little law and order in that country, that three American travelers are murdered by outlaw bands.

M. I. L.

Congrats to Gordon

ESCONDIDO, CALIF.

I am getting so much pleasure and information out of Eugene Gordon's recent articles about our backward South I must write to congratulate you for helping to spread the light of truth and understanding.

Your **Petal Paper** story in the Spectator column (April 1) is a gem. It impelled me to write to the editor of the **Petal Paper**, the intrepid Mr. East, and order a copy of his booklet. I am so glad some one is taking up the struggle for integration with a pen of humor and wit. Some of us are so dour in our methods of spreading the light. I am witless but appreciate wit in others.

Belfrage's articles on Ghana have been thrilling and so encouraging. Every issue lately has been an inspiration to me in some way or another. Congratulations to each and every one of your staff for content and method of presentation.

I have noticed there have recently been some notable advancements for the Negro in the professions and in government agencies. Here in San Diego a Negro was appointed to the park commission for the first time and a union, I believe it was the Electrical Workers, appointed the first Negro newscaster.

Valida Davila Diehl

Nomination

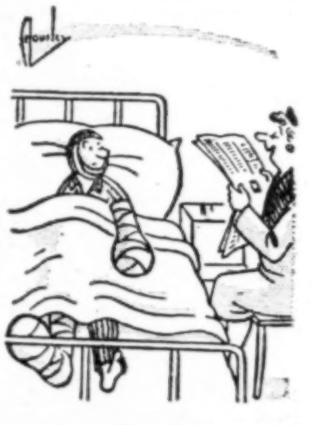
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I would like to nominate for the Peace Prize some one who most richly deserves that honor, namely, Martin Luther King.

He has influenced people all over the world in the ways of peace, proving that there is a way of winning without war and revenge.

I believe such an honor would be a great and stimulating gift for a people who have given the world such a fine example of forbearance under persecution.

Rose Campbell



Reynolds News, London

'Oh, here it is—'Man tries to rescue cat from tree' . . . .!"

Laundermation

MUSCATINE, IOWA

The general public has been very thoroughly brain washed by the press, radio, TV, etc. All that I have talked to believe Mr. Beck to be guilty of something. They cannot understand that the Senatorial committee, which took the oath of office to uphold the Constitution and enforce the laws, are also law breakers.

Our brain laundries have done a wonderful job.

S. M. Adams

Shell game

SANTA FE, N. M.

The old shell game goes on: Dave Beck is the pea being shoved around while the real thieves pocket the loot. These sleight-of-hand artists have the gullible so dazed that they are unconscious of the many hands in their pockets.

Preston McCrossen

De-cantos

NEW YORK, N. Y.

1.

When they recant
it is the same old decanter
with the same cork-
splintered wine.
For bowing low, they must
bow the low most.
We know nothing, they brag
and further—
we know more of nothing
than any mere nobody else.

2.

Spring is really delightful.
How pleasant to sit out on a
park bench
and eat daffodils
instead of a dry egg sandwich at the desk.
April, I love you. Make six
copies and keep the
original in a plastic case.

Eve Merriam

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REPORT TO READERS

Stop the Race!

EVERYWHERE BUT HEREABOUTS this Easter, the conscience of the world is speaking out against the threat of nuclear warfare.

● **At the Vatican** the Pope received a special envoy from the Premier of Japan and expressed understanding of Japan's opposition to Britain's scheduled Christmas Island H-bomb tests in the Pacific. To the envoy, Prof. Masatoshi Matsushita of St. Paul's University in Tokyo, he gave a copy of his Easter message of last year warning against a nuclear "race to the abyss." He said this clearly defined his unchanging views on the subject of his visitor's mission.

● **In the Soviet Union** physicist Peter Kapitza, in a person-to-person telephone conversation with a British science writer, confirmed the story brought back by Western scientists last year that he had indeed refused and still refuses to work on military applications of atomic energy.

● **In Germany** 18 nuclear scientists on April 12 warned the Bonn government of Konrad Adenauer against equipping Germany's new armed forces with atomic weapons. Pooh-poohed, the scientists came back with an even sharper warning. Among them were four Nobel Prize winners. One of these was Prof. Otto Hahn, first physicist to split the atom, and therefore the progenitor of the Atomic Era.

Prof. Hahn said that opposition to atomic armament was a matter of conscience for him. He said that the Hiroshima bombing in 1945 had made a frightful impression on him and, as one of the pioneers in atomic research, he felt responsibility for what had happened.

Prof. Carl Friedrich von Weizsaecker challenged the view of Chancellor Adenauer that atomic armament was a political matter for which he as head of the government was primarily responsible. Said von Weizsaecker, speaking for the 18 German scientists:

"We do not believe we can escape the responsibility that our profession places upon us in relation to political questions."

WHAT DISTURBS US is that here in the U.S., where scientists in droves have spoken out against atomic weapons tests and underscored heavily the perils which fall-out alone has in store for the human race; where as recently as last year the Democratic presidential candidate staked his campaign largely on opposition to further tests; where independent political America 10 years ago, five years ago fought to bring this issue to the people—there is no form of protest today which the average citizen can join.

We think there should and could be mass protest against further experimentation with and production of atomic weapons. Three million people signed the Stockholm Appeal here in 1950, right under the guns of the Korean war-makers. In 1956 Adlai Stevenson, campaigning against atomic tests, got 26,000,000 votes. President Eisenhower snowed him under as the people's choice to keep the peace. We felt then that this represented a pretty universal expression of the will for peace, but pointed out that this peace mandate of the American people had "no enforcement arm in American politics, nor indeed any reliable means of continued expression in the organizational life of the nation."

We said also at the time (GUARDIAN 11/12/56):

"The responsibility for generating an effective means for the continued expression and enforcement of this mandate, we believe, lies primarily with the progressive citizens of America. We urge immediate steps toward the accomplishment of this historic end."

TO SIDESTEP ARGUMENT from those who are against starting new political parties, let us say quickly that we would settle gladly right now for just the germ of a non-partisan pressure group to ban atomic weapons. Stevenson might be urged out of retirement to lead it. The many scientists who supported him in 1956 would surely do so today, and others would join them who felt compelled to stay on the sidelines when it was an electoral issue. The people, we are convinced, would flock to sign up. Congress could get the jogging of its life; and most certainly more Peter Kapitzas on the other side of the world would take the cue.

It's quite a prospect; anybody know Stevenson to talk to?

—THE GUARDIAN

NEW YORK

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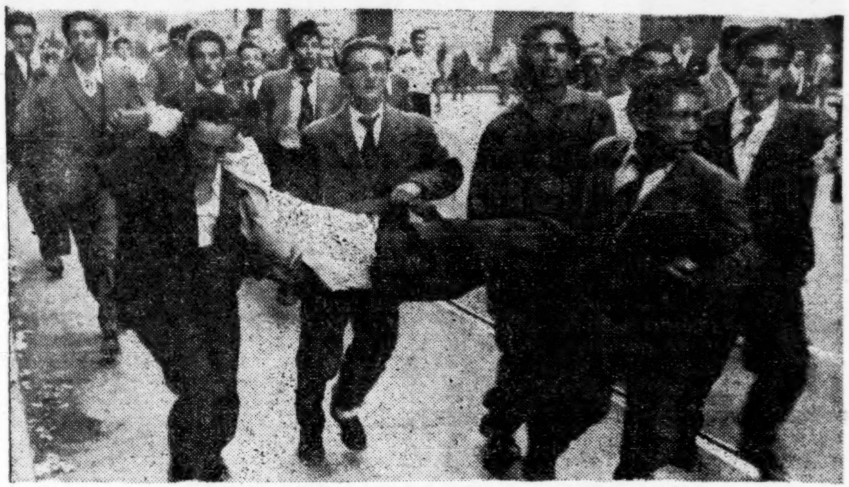


Chile's high cost of living—and dying

DEMONSTRATORS against skyrocketing prices and fare boosts in Santiago, Chile, carry off one of their wounded. The Administration of President Ibanez del Campo has answered Chile's desperate protests with a state of siege and gunfire that has killed at least 40. Hundreds more have been jailed or driven into exile. Opposition papers have been raided, padlocked, confiscated. Hiding from police Claudio Veliz, foreign editor of the non-communist but vigorously anti-Ibanez **Ultima Hora**, wrote to Carey McWilliams, editor of the **Nation**. He told of "brutal police oppression," of "a young medicine student (girl, 22 years old) shot dead by a trigger-happy cop who managed to place five carbine bullets in her pelvis." The letter, dated April 3, said:

"Last night (3:30 a.m.) a police detachment armed with machine guns and supported by troops attacked **Ultima Hora**. (Our Monday evening edition had been pretty frank about what was going on.) They shot three of our technicians—one of them will probably die this afternoon—and they proceeded to destroy all of our equipment including the typewriters. Now arrest warrants are out for the staff . . . This letter has a slim chance of getting through. I am giving it to a friend in the post office who thinks he can manage it. The city is under martial law and I can't cable. Saludos from your friend."

CONGRESS RECESSES WITHOUT ACTION

Dixiecrat-Republican deal to kill rights bill charged

CONGRESSIONAL opponents of any kind of civil rights legislation had succeeded by last week in putting off consideration of the Administration's mild program until some time in May at the earliest. Backers of the program had contended from the start that action was needed before the start of the Easter recess on April 18 to allow time for wearing down a Dixiecrat Senate filibuster.

On April 7 Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.), a member of the House Rules Committee, told newsmen he had heard rumors of a "deal" between Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans to block any action on civil rights this year. It was suggested that Republicans were working on the theory that they could gain more politically by having the Democrats expose their division on the issue in 1958—an election year.

PROOF IN THE PUDDING: House and Senate Republican leaders emphatically denied knowledge of any deal. On March 8 the Rules Committee refused to act on a motion by Bolling that the civil rights bill be called up for immediate hearings and clearance to the House floor. Instead, the Committee voted 6 to 4 to adjourn. Said Bolling: "The results speak for themselves. There must be some working relationship." Later Rules Committee chairman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) announced that hearings would be held after the Easter recess. To Bolling, this was proof that the delay was deliberate: "This confirms my earlier suspicions. I have had two confirmations in one day."

In the Senate the Judiciary Committee, headed by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), for the third straight weekly meeting failed to act on the measure despite pressure by Sen. Thomas C. Henning Jr. (D-Mo.). But the delaying tactics there took an odd form: a quorum of the Committee didn't show up. There was some talk of a boycott, but most of the members who were on hand were opponents of the bill; its supporters stayed away.

NOT MUCH TIME: On April 10 Hennings announced that he would try for a showdown at the Committee's next Monday meeting on April 15, the last before the Easter recess. He said that meeting "will be crucial if the Senate itself is to be given the opportunity" to act this year and added that "time is slipping by rapidly." The Committee again failed to act on the 15th, but Sen. Eastland said he might begin hearings on April 29.

Meanwhile the issue was being beclouded by the sudden championship by Dixiecrats of the "sacred right" to a jury trial. Under the pending legislation, the Federal government could move in a civil action to prevent interference with the right of Negroes to vote by a court injunction barring such interference. Violation of the injunction would be punishable as contempt of court, which does not require a jury trial except in some rare and special cases.

DECEPTIVE PROPOSAL: Sen. Eastland, backed by Sens. Strom Thurmond (S.C.) and Harry F. Byrd (Va.), has introduced a bill requiring a jury trial in all such contempt-of-court cases. Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney 3rd has called this a "dangerously deceptive proposal" and a "clever device to nullify" the Administration's civil rights program.

Speaking before the recent annual conference of the Natl. Civil Liberties Clearing House, he pointed out that the jury trial measure was proposed "significantly by opponents of more effective enforcement of the constitutional prohibitions against official discrimination based on race or color." He said the "key civil right is the right to vote" and added: "Unhappily, there are areas in our country where by one device or another, substantial segments of our population are denied an effective voice at the polls."

The Washington **Post** has called the Eastland bill "a crafty flanking movement." Others have pointed out that few if any Southern juries would convict a voting registrar who kept Negroes from the rolls on any pretext.

Don't be so superior

RUSSIAN scientists are not to be discounted either . . . They have "a deep inferiority complex which drives them to spectacular achievements," something the West now lacks.

From a review of **The Red Army** in The San Francisco **Chronicle**, Mar. 3

'IMMUNITY' LAW REVIEW LIKELY

4th newsman is convicted of contempt; Price sentenced

ALDEN WHITMAN, a copy editor for the N.Y. **Times**, became the fourth newspaperman to be convicted of contempt of Congress when Federal District Judge Edward M. Curran in Washington ruled him guilty on 19 counts on April 8. Whitman was tried without a jury. He remained free on bond pending an appeal.

All four cases arose from a hearing conducted by the Eastland Internal Security Subcommittee in January, 1956. The other three victims are William A. Price, former reporter for the N.Y. **Daily News**, and Robert Shelton and Seymour Peck of the **Times**. All of them invoked the First Amendment.

Price was sentenced to three months in jail and fined $500 on April 12 by Judge Richmond B. Keech. The case will be appealed. Price remained free under $1,000 bond. Judge Keech refused to defer sentence pending a Supreme Court ruling in another case which may have a decisive bearing on the cases of all four newsmen.

WOULDN'T INFORM: Whitman had told the Subcommittee that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1935 to 1948, but refused to name any of his former associates because his "private affairs, beliefs and associations are not proper subjects" of Congressional inquiry. At his trial he took the witness stand and said that to have answered the Subcommittee's questions would have made him an informer, a role he rejected. He added: "I also felt that the activities of my associates were lawful and to name them would cause trouble for people guilty of no wrongdoing."

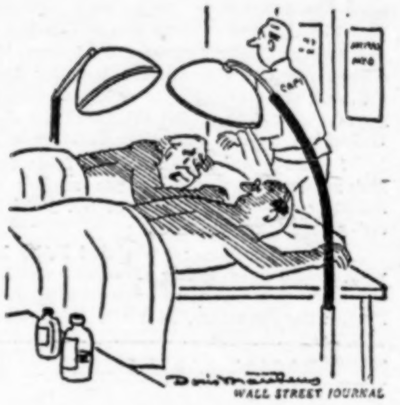
Sole government witness was J.G. Sourwine, associate counsel of the Subcommittee, who said that Congressional committees have the right to inquire into the lawful activities of citizens and, in some circumstances, into their beliefs.

Asked if the Senate resolution authorizing the Subcommittee's probes empowered it to inquire into the editorial content of newspapers, Sourwine said it did not.

NARROW RULING: At the time of the probe, the **Times** editorially charged that it was "aimed with particular emphasis at the N. Y. **Times**." Sourwine denied this, but acknowledged that of 18 witnesses called, 14 were past or present employes of the paper. Another was a relative of a **Times** employe.

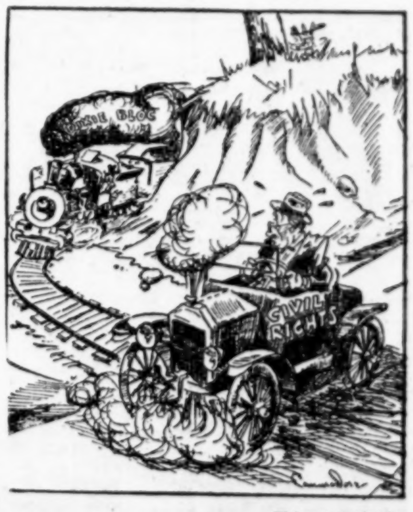
Judge Curran ruled that the Subcommittee's questions had been pertinent to a valid legislative purpose and that the questions to Whitman had been relevant to that purpose. He said the sole issue was whether the Senate had given the Subcommittee "authority to ask the questions and whether he answered them."

But in Whitman's case, sentence was deferred pending a ruling by the Supreme Court in the case of John T. Watkins, a union organizer who admitted working with Communists but refused to name them. That case will be the first Supreme Court test of the First Amendment's protection of the right of belief and association. The Court heard argument on it last March 7.



WALL STREET JOURNAL

"I don't want the voters to think I've been vacationing in Florida, but I do want them to think I'm close enough to the farm problem to have a good healthy tan."



Chicago Defender

Stalled?

NEW 'IMMUNITY' CASE: In another case involving the Eastland Subcommittee, Federal Judge David A. Pine in Washington signed an order authorizing use of the Immunity Act of 1954 against four witnesses who had invoked the Fifth Amendment.

One of the four is Harold Glasser, former Treasury Dept. economist who was called in a Congressional probe of the late Harry Dexter White, Treasury official accused by Atty. Gen. Brownell and FBI director Hoover as a Communist agent during the 1952 Presidential campaign.

The other three are Honolulu residents who were called last November in a probe there widely accepted as an attempt by Eastland to block statehood for Hawaii. They are Wilfred Oka, former columnist for the progressive weekly Honolulu **Record**, Robert McElrath, publicity director for the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, and Myer C. Symonds, attorney for the ILWU .

Judge Pine rejected a defense motion for a stay of his order pending an appeal against it. After he signed it on April 10, it became known that the Subcommittee had already issued subpenas for the four. Glasser is to appear on April 15, the other three on April 30.

But on April 12 the Federal Court of Appeals stayed Judge Pine's order and gave lawyers on both sides until April 18 to file supplemental memoranda. This action suggested that the Court may rule on the Constitutional issues raised by the defense.

THIRD USE: This is the third time the Immunity Act has been invoked and the first time its use was asked directly by a Congressional committee. In the first two cases it was sought by the Attorney General himself.

Those cases involved William Ludwig Ullmann and Edward J. Fitzgerald, both former government employes named by "Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley. In the Ullmann case, the Supreme Court upheld one aspect of the law and he later "purged" himself of a contempt charge. Fitzgerald continued to invoke the Fifth Amendment and was sentenced to six months in prison. He served his term and was released last March 29.

Give This Paper To A Friend

United May Day meeting in New York

THE PROPOSAL BY GUARDIAN Mailbag correspondent Nan Dickman for joint May Day observances this year has rung the bell in New York; and the Rev. Hugh Weston writes from Saugus, Mass., that Boston, too, may have a joint May Day meeting.

In response to an invitation from the N. Y. Committee for Socialist Unity headed by Clifford T. McAvoy, former American Labor Party leader and a member of Mayor LaGuardia's administration in the 30's, acceptances have been received from the following to speak at a New York May Day meeting Wed. evening, May 1, at Central Plaza, Second Av. at 7th St., Manhattan:

George Blake Charney, chairman, N. Y. State Communist Party; Bert Cochran, editor, American Socialist; Dorothy Day, editor, Catholic Worker; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, John T. McManus, general manager of the GUARDIAN; A. J. Muste, Liberation magazine and Harvey O'Connor, author and civil liberties leader.

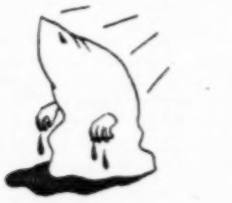
Speakers have been invited from the Socialist Party, Socialist Labor Party and Independent Socialist League among others. Norman Thomas, veteran Socialist leader, expressed approval of the joint meeting but could not accept because of an out-of-town engagement.

The Committee for Socialist Unity has conducted forums for the last six months with speakers of widely divergent views in New York. Individuals who will help at the meeting are asked to attend a preliminary meeting Wed. evening, April 24, at the Forum headquarters, 74 Fifth Ave., near 14th St.

INTERRACIAL FARM SIEGE

Ministers support Koinonia farmers; Ike ducks appeal

THE 14-YEAR-OLD, 1,100-acre interracial cooperative Koinonia Farm near Americus, Ga., had been harassed before. Threats of violence had hampered buying and selling and its roadside market was dynamited on Jan. 14. But the first attempt to kill was made on Jan. 29, when a speeding car raked roadside residences with machine-gun bullets. Children playing on a lighted volleyball court were missed by a shotgun blast. A bullet pierced the window of a house and barely missed a sleeping child.



After fruitless appeals to Sumter County sheriff Chappell, Koinonia founder and farm leader Dr. Clarence Jordan, Georgia-born and white, wrote President Eisenhower on Jan. 22: "We are facing annihilation unless quick, decisive action is taken by someone in authority." The next thing Jordan knew was that his letter had been passed down through Atty. Gen. Brownell to Georgia Gov. Griffin, who had his Atty. Gen. Cook forward it to Dist. Solicitor Gen. Burgamy in Americus. Burgamy handed it to Sheriff Chappell. Decisive action followed.

BLAME THE VICTIMS: Burgamy empaneled an all-white grand jury; the sheriff rounded up as witnesses persons who had seen Negroes and whites strolling down Americus streets together; the man who saw "a white girl and two Negro boys [who] walked down the street, all eating popcorn out of the same bag"; those he hoped would throw light on rumors, as the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** put it, "that white and Negro male and female members of the farm community might have been more to each other than mere working companions [and] . . . that the farm is some kind of financial racket, or that it is a beehive of Communist activity."

The grand jury on April 5 issued a 20-page presentment: "From the standpoint of legal evidence, we cannot state what person or persons committed the violence. This grand jury would be persuaded that the evidence more strongly indicates the violence was being committed by [members of the Koinonia community] rather than by anyone else."

UNDER SIEGE: Dr. Jordan noted wryly that the grand jury neglected to charge Koinonia with its own economic strangulation and the legal harassments directed at it by Americus officials. Twenty-three ministers, including Baptist, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian and Lutheran, from seven Georgia cities, sent this open letter "to Christian ministers" of the state:

"In regard to recent publicity concerning Koinonia Farm, Inc., near Americus, Ga., we, the undersigned, in light of the present understanding express our belief that:

"1. Koinonia Farm is a Christian community.

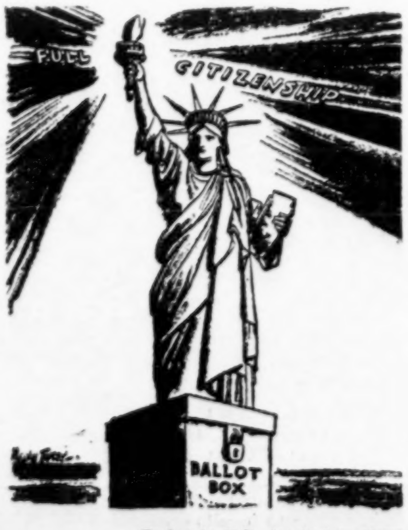
"2. Acts of violence have come from persons outside the Koinonia group.

"3. No connection exists between Koinonia Farm and the Communist Party.

"We pray that God's truth and Christ's redeeming love may be revealed in this present crisis in Sumter County."

Dr. Jordan said that many white teachers, businessmen, farmers and other residents of the area are sympathetic. But the violent few have frightened all into non-cooperation and silence. Some of the farm's residents are "so nervous" at the siege that Koinonia has bought a 120-acre auxiliary site near Somerville, N.J., where members of the cooperative may go for rest. Koinonia Farm is neither backing down nor selling out.

In New York last week Dr. Jordan sought and received promise of aid from Negro ministers.



Tapley in N.Y. Amsterdam News
The Statue of Liberty

Leo Huberman will speak in Los Angeles April 26

IN HIS FIRST home-coming appearance following his seven-month around-the-world tour, Leo Huberman will speak in Los Angeles at the Unitarian Public Forum, Friday evening, April 26, in the Unitarian Auditorium, 2936 8th St.

Huberman, co-editor of the **Monthly Review** and author of **We, The People** and **Man's Worldly Goods**, will give a first-hand report of his trip. He was invited to India to work as an economist with the Indian Institute of Statistics. He will also answer questions from the audience. Tickets are available at the Church offices. Admission is 75 cents.

REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.
A leader of the pilgrimage

THE TANDARIC CASE

Chicago machinist, hounded for years, faces deportation

CHICAGO, ILL.

STEVE TANDARIC is a 49-year-old East Chicago machinist. He was brought to this country from Austria-Hungary by his parents at age three. In his twenties he did a few wrong things: in 1933 he got arrested for battling the marshals who were trying to evict an unemployed neighbor; he was a CIO pioneer in organizing Steel; when that job was done he went to Spain to fight Franco.

Wrongly, he used his brother's name to go to Spain, and when he came back in 1939 he sidestepped some re-entry technicalities. In 1944 the Immigration Dept. started deportation proceedings against him but the Board of Immigration Appeals (it was better then) threw out the case because of "serious doubts that respondent is subject to deportation on the criminal charge contained in the warrant of arrest."

The Immigration boys grabbed him again in 1950, this time on the surmise that he was a Communist. At the hearing they could produce no evidence and Tandaric won another round. But two days later he was grabbed again, on the original 1944 charges, and this time a final order of deportation was issued in April, 1951.

BAIL DENIED: Where to send him was a problem: Austria-Hungary no longer exists; his birthplace now is part of Yugoslavia. It took five years but in 1956 the Dept. of Justice got the Yugoslav Embassy to issue a visa. Tandaric was ordered to report for immediate deportation. This time the Board of Immigration Appeals upheld the order on the same charges that were thrown out 13 years earlier.

On March 20 Tandaric was picked up by six Dept. of Justice agents at his job in East Chicago and taken to the Chicago Detention Center for deportation March 27. His attorney got a stay pending judicial review of the case in the Federal Courts, scheduled to begin April 12 before Judge Igoe. Meanwhile Tandaric has been denied bail on the contention of the District Director of Immigration that he intends to escape and resist arrest.

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 431 S. Dearborn, Room 325, is handling Tandaric's case, among many others. Financial help is needed. Also, the Committee urges appeals to Atty. Gen. Brownell to drop the Tandaric proceedings; and letters to Congressmen and Senators demanding a bar to deportation of any person who entered the country before the age of 14; and of all legal residents who have lived here for five years.

NEGRO PILGRIMAGE

50,000 expected at freedom rally in Capital May 17

THE NAACP national office has called on all local and state units to support the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington on May 17. NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins is co-chairman of the demonstration with A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and an AFL-CIO vice president, and Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Leadership Conference and leader of the successful Montgomery anti-jimcrow bus movement.

The Pilgrimage was officially launched at a Washington meeting of 77 leaders of church, civic, fraternal and labor organizations in observance of the third anniversary of the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing jimcrow in public school education, in protest against Southern terror and violence, and in support of pending civil rights legislation.

GOAL: 50,000: A Pilgrimage office has been opened in NAACP national headquarters, 20 W. 40th St., New York 18, N. Y. Rev. Thomas Kilgore Jr., pastor of Friendship Baptist Church, New York, is exec. director. Additional offices are in Harlem and Montgomery. The letter to NAACP branches urged a minimum of 50,000 for an open air meeting in the park area in front of Washington's Lincoln Memorial.

Civil rights supporters in each community are being asked to join the Pilgrimage. NAACP branches will arrange for transportation.

APPEAL BOLSTERED

Mexico denies it deported Sobell

THE MEXICAN DEPT. of Migration has declared there is no record that it ordered the expulsion of Morton Sobell from Mexico. A letter to this effect from the Migration Dept. was filed April 10 with the U. S. Court of Appeals by attorneys for Morton Sobell to prove its charge that the prosecution lied when it claimed Mexico had deported Sobell.

The new evidence, in addition to previous documentation refuting the prosecution, was cited as further reason for a hearing. The Appeals Court is now considering such an appeal by Sobell.

Sobell, who maintains his innocence, is imprisoned in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence for conspiracy to commit espionage. He charges that the prosecution illegally kidnapped him from Mexico, and then, to make him appear a fugitive, said he had been deported.

THE FILES SEARCHED: The new letter went to a Mexican attorney March 9 "by consent of the head of the department" from Migration Inspector Jose Inez Perez. It said:

"I wish to advise you that in the files pertaining to Morton Sobell, United States Citizen, there is no record to the effect that this Department has ordered his expulsion from the country."

Who he?

AMONG the witnesses called by the House Un-American Committee at its recent Chicago hearings was John Rossen, manager of the Cinema Annex theater, which sometimes shows Soviet films. At one point committee counsel Arens asked Rossen if he had ever shown films based on dramas by "Cheevok."

A puzzled Rossen deduced that Arens meant Chekhov and corrected the counsel. And, he added, since Chekhov died over 50 years ago, it would be impossible for him to testify before the committee.

J. D. Bernal: 'Tens of millions will die if this madness is allowed to continue'

By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the GUARDIAN

BERLIN

WHEN the World Peace Council meets at Colombo, Ceylon, in June, it will be officially opened by Ceylon's Prime Minister Bandaranaike. This indication of official support for the peace movement by one of the new free countries of Asia is an expression of a development that has been going on for some time. Despite the line that the World Peace Council is only an instrument of Soviet policy, the truth is that the neutral countries, and particularly India, have been playing an increasing part in its work.

It is equally true that the Asian countries are more and more accepting the basic policies for so long put forward by the Council: disarmament, the ending of military blocs and co-existence.

The meeting of the Council bureau which I attended in Berlin, called the Ceylon meeting and determined meanwhile on a campaign against the atomic tests as a first step to disarmament and the complete abolition of these weapons.

BERNAL'S WARNING: I wish Prime Minister Macmillan and the other politicians who blithely declare that Britain must go on with the Christmas Island H-bomb tests, to prove she is a great power, could have seen how bitterly the Council representatives from Asia feel about the tests.

Prof. J. D. Bernal, Fellow of the Royal Society and one of Britain's foremost scientists, gravely warned that the effects of the tests already carried out have been much underestimated. Every single inhabitant of this globe, he said, has in his bones Strontium 90 released by these tests. It has the most serious effect on children who are building new bone material. They have a longer time in which to absorb the poison and in addition are drinking milk which absorbs the Strontium 90 through the grass eaten by the cows.

"Thousands will die. Millions may die from what has already happened, but tens of millions will die if this madness is allowed to continue." With these words Bernal summed up. If they could be heard and understood all over the world, no military or political leader would dare explode another bomb.

NEED FOR ACTION: Prof. Bernal said that the Soviet government has now so nearly approached the Western position in disarmament in its latest notes that technical difficulties no longer prevent agreement. The difficulties are political, he said. He concluded that the resistance of the Western governments to the abolition of the tests is a clear proof that war is being prepared.

Of the many other issues raised in the discussion, I would single out two:

- World opinion must act quickly because the economy of many countries is becoming geared to atomic war preparations. One estimate given was that America, which now supplies arms to 45 countries, would have 15,000,000 unemployed if the world turned to disarmament.
- The message of the World Peace Council is one of hope, not fear and not despair. The forces that will gather at Colombo, and the hundreds of millions who are taking part in the struggle against the peril of nuclear annihilation, are becoming so great that no government will be able to stand against them.

THE GLOVES ARE OFF

British political pot boils over H-tests and economic crisis

By Cedric Belfrage

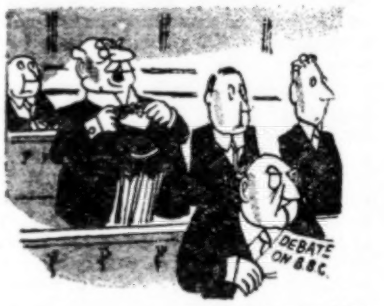
LONDON

BENEATH the gentlemanly veneer worn by both government and opposition leaders, the political crisis here is beginning to come to a head. Its various elements, which have been boiling up one by one in recent weeks, are being paraded in the budget debate in the darkly unifying context of Britain's economic shambles.

Splits within both parties were dramatized by the resignation from the Cabinet of Lord Salisbury (who put Macmillan in office) over Archbishop Makarios' release from exile, and by the Labourites' clash over H-bomb tests. Trade union leadership was split over the decicion by a small card-vote majority to suspend the engineers' and shipbuilders' strike pending a government Court of Inquiry verdict. New revelations about the Suez fiasco, and widening comprehension of its economic and political consequences, hardened the division within all classes as to the Tories' capacity to govern.

A LONG WAR? Almost nobody believed that suspension of the biggest strike since 1926 meant an end to industrial unrest. The "razor-edged armistice" (Tory **Daily Mail**) might be "merely an armistice in a protracted war" (Liberal **Manchester Guardian**). Nearly all of the 40 unions involved had voted to stay out; the deciding vote came from William Carron, right-wing leader of the Amalgamated Engineering Union with half a million members on strike.

The day before suspension, production had been halted in 1,000 factories in London alone. Strikers shouted "Blackleg!" and "Traitor!" at Carron after suspension was decided, and his hat was knocked off in a scuffle as police escorted him to his car. Boilermakers' leader Ted Hill, who put the workers' case without gloves before the Court of Inquiry, told the press that if the court's findings were unacceptable "you can rest assured we shall start the struggle all over again."



Vicky in London Mirror

". . . and I protest strongly against the biased weather forecasts on the BBC which spread alarm and despondency during the present national emergency."

DISASTER AHEAD: The workers' militancy—which suspension of the strike has far from cooled—and the tough line of the employers and government seem indeed to promise "a protracted war." No satisfactory settlement is to be expected under such a government, which is set on destroying the post-war foundations of a "welfare state" and creating a "healthy" pool of unemployment to keep wages down. A small award would not even offset the cost-of-living rise which Tory legislation is imposing.

Most Britons are aware that, as the **Times** put it when the strike was called off, "if things go on as they are much longer the country will be faced with economic disaster." How such a disaster can be avoided without a sharp curb on capitalist profiteering, in view of the workers' refusal to return to pre-war standards of poverty and insecurity, the **Times** cannot suggest. The outcry for more exports continues, but it is in vital export industries that the unrest is greatest.

AWESOME RESPONSIBILITY: With the government's borrowing powers exhausted, the situation is already beyond mending except by radical measures, presumably involving further "austerities" of which the workers would only accept their share as part of a long-range national plan. Only a Labour government could obtain support for such measures, and Labour's leaders are still vacillating in face of the challenge to their socialist pretensions. But the victory of the party's genuinely socialist elements in the clash over H-test policy was a hopeful sign.

There is no question that the H-bomb test is the most pressing of the responsibilities laid by history—to the apparent mortification of leader Gaitskell—on the shoulders of the Labour Party. But last week Britain still awaited clearer signs that an alternative government was ready to take power, with a domestic and foreign policy of planned de-catastrophization.

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THE CASE OF PETROS MOUTSOS

Greek seaman secretly whisked out of U. S., saved in France

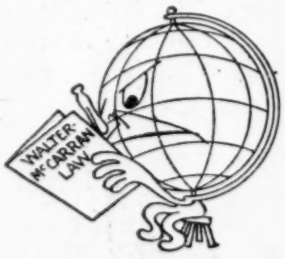
AT TWO O'CLOCK Sunday afternoon, April 7, Petros Moutsos, 24-year-old Greek seaman, had lunch with his U.S.-born wife Angela in New York. They said a casual farewell as they went on separate errands. Two-and-a-half hours later Moutsos was on a plane bound for Greece—and perhaps for prison or death. He was snatched from that fate in a last-minute rescue, engineered by friends, as his plane touched down in Paris.

Moutsos, a tall, good-looking young man, is a member of the Fedn. of Greek Maritime Unions which, though it claims representation for a majority of Greek seamen, is illegal. Many of its members and officers are now serving sentences in concentration camps and some have been executed. Greek shipowners have fought it bitterly and, according to the union, have won the cooperation of U.S. immigration authorities.

In October, 1955, Moutsos walked off his ship, the Ionian Messenger, in Norfolk, Va. The law gave him 29 days to spend in the U.S. but during a visit to Baltimore he met and fell in love with Angela Boyer. They married and he settled down as a house painter.

A HEARING IN JAIL: On Dec. 10, 1956, Angela's 21st birthday, Moutsos went aboard a ship in Baltimore's harbor to talk with some former ship-mates. Immigration agents arrested him and rushed him to New York where he was held for lack of $5,000 bail.

He had his first hearing in jail on Dec. 18. Then, as in all other hearings that swiftly followed, his defense attorney, Lester Fetel of the firm of William L. Standard, did not deny that Moutsos had overstayed his leave, but pressed other considerations: The Dept. of Immigration could at its discretion permit the husband of a citizen to stay in the country, no matter how he had entered. And the law clearly provided that no alien was to be deported if he faced persecution or death in his homeland.



Friends raised $5,000 and won Moutsos's release on Dec. 28. Since then he has been in and out of Immigration Dept. hearings and court rooms, trailed, picked up on various pretexts, harassed. Against his pleas to be allowed to stay in the U.S. or depart voluntarily for some country other than Greece, the government had only two arguments: (1) He had refused to answer questions about his political affiliations; (2) he had sold subscriptions to two Greek newspapers sympathetic to his union. He was not charged with being a Communist.

OUR ALLY: To all the evidence of Greek terror against members of the maritime union, the Dept. of Immigration answered: "Greece is our ally . . . Even as we in the United States protect ourselves against Communists, so does Greece . . ."

On April 7 when Petros and Angela Moutsos had their last Sunday lunch together, they and their attorney assumed that Moutsos' second appeal was still being considered by the Regional Director of Immigration Services in Burlington, Vt. Applications for visas to a number of other countries had been made; answers were expected momentarily.

A SUNDAY PICKUP: On Monday, April 8, attorney Fetel found in his office the notice of the final turn-down. It was dated March 29 and had been delivered on Saturday, April 6, after the close of business. He hurried to Federal District Judge Thomas Murphy to apply for a stay of deportation. At 4:30 on the afternoon of April 8 the Dept. of Immigration revealed that Moutsos had been picked up and put aboard a plane for Greece, without any notice to anyone, 24 hours earlier.

On Tuesday morning word came from the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington that a visa had been granted and that Moutsos might have a sanctuary.

At the time it seemed the offer of refuge had come too late. It was not until April 15 that a cablegram from Paris brought word that Moutsos was safe. It gave no details of the rescue. In New York friends of Moutsos urged that letters be sent to Attorney General Brownell in Washington protesting the Immigration Department's policy on rushing Greek seamen into the hands of Greek police, knowing the fate that awaits them. Moutsos was saved; others might not be.

THE FINE LINE BETWEEN MURDER AND EXECUTION

Is killing a state monopoly?

By Elmer Bendiner

O God! that bread should be so dear,
And flesh and blood so cheap!

—Thomas Hood

WITH LEGISLATURES in many states considering bills to abolish capital punishment, those who uphold the government's right to kill have shifted their ground. Statistics of centuries have debunked the claim that the rope, faggot, electric chair or cyanide capsule deters crime (GUARDIAN 4/1), and history records the spectacle of men picking pockets in a crowd watching other pickpockets being hanged. The cry for vengeance upon the wicked has an archaic sound. There is left the argument of the budget-cutter.

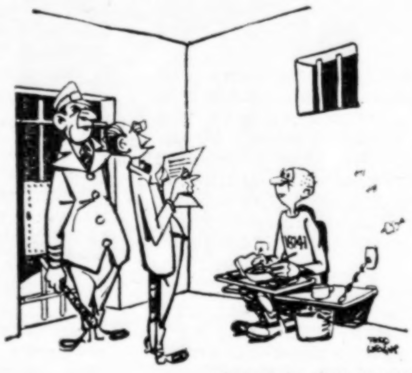
Judge Samuel S. Liebowitz, who before his election to the bench was a noted criminal lawyer, told a reporter three years ago that it was unfair to expect the State to feed and house a criminal for life at a cost he estimated at $1,400 a year.

Another celebrated criminal lawyer, Lloyd Paul Stryker, said: "I don't see why society, when one of its members is destroyed, should spend its moneys on taking care of and feeding the murderer for 40 years or more."

Stryker buttressed his argument with a denunciation of murderers and a baffling paradox: "Our most fundamental right is the right to live. I would not abolish the death sentence."

DARROW CUTS THROUGH: Clarence Darrow debating with Judge Alfred J. Talley in New York in 1924 met the eye-for-an-eye argument this way: "We are told, 'Oh, the killer does it; why shouldn't the state?' I would hate to live in a state that I didn't think was better than a murderer."

Judge Talley, calling the U.S. in the midst of the Prohibition Era "the most lawless nation on the face of the earth" and denouncing "the criminal tendency on the part of the American people," had pleaded for the sternest measures to reserve the right to kill as a monopoly of the state. But a few years before the Talley-Darrow debate an interesting dispute arose in the Canadian Arctic that showed how fine the line was between murder and execution, and how the monopoly could be disputed.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"In order to save taxpayers dollars, all misdemeanors now carry the death penalty."

NO HIGHER POWER: An Eskimo tribe had sentenced one of its members to die for murder. The execution was carried out by two tribesmen assigned to the job. But Canada, not recognizing the rights of Eskimos to govern themselves, regarded the execution as unofficial and therefore as murder. The Mounted Police thereupon arrested the executioners and hanged them. **The Nation** commented:

"Vengeance again becomes decorous and legal and there seems to be no higher power . . . to swing the executors of the Eskimo executors into the Arctic darkness of eternity."

Even if the right to kill were unchallenged, the wisdom of those who decide whom and when to kill remains eternally questionable. The Marquis de Lafayette wrote: "I shall ask for the abolition of capital punishment until I have the infallibility of human judgment demonstrated to me." Judge Liebowitz, sharing none of Lafayette's hesitations, has said there is "almost no chance for a mistake" in first degree murder cases, that in the case of those convicted, guilt had been demonstrated "more than beyond the reasonable doubt called for by the law."

TRIAL BY HUDDLE: But a state commission in Pennsylvania has disclosed that juries have decided criminal cases by the toss of a coin. Judge Jerome Frank once told the story of a jury that decided on a second degree murder conviction by drawing lots out of a hat.

Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, in their **New Horizons in Criminology**, denounce "bargain-day justice" and "trial by huddle" in which the opposing lawyers and the judge work out a "compromise." The authors cite the Trenton Six case as justice by "compromise." All six Negroes had allegedly "confessed" to murder and were sentenced to die. Few doubted that they would have gone to the chair if world opinion, alerted by the GUARDIAN, had not enforced a retrial. That one was declared a mistrial; but after the third trial the jury acquitted four and convicted two whom the prosecution had never considered the principal defendants.

THE TRENTON SIX

They would have gone to the chair if there had not been a world protest

Judge Julius H. Miner, in a 1946 speech, charged that juries become bewildered by the "machine gun rapidity of the 'objections,' 'exceptions,' 'sustained,' 'disregarded,' 'exhibits' and the hundred and one stereotyped instructions upon the law in the understanding of which even our supreme courts cannot agree."

DERVISH JUSTICE: Barnes and Teeter write: "Certainly before a group of trained experts whose business it is to ascertain innocence or guilt, the vaporings of high-priced counsel could have no more effect than the gyrations of a whirling dervish." But the juries are not expert enough to withstand dervishes or headlines and, in New York state at least, where death is mandatory in the case of some verdicts, they send people to the chair.

Judges frequently operate on what the legal profession knows as the "hunch" system. The late Judge Joseph N. Ulman of Baltimore commented: "A defendant is tried in one part of a criminal court and is sentenced to two years in prison. He might have been tried in another part of the same court in the same building, on the same day, and would have been given 10 days or perhaps 10 years." A study of the records of 1,661 prisoners in Massachusetts found that 20% of the sentences were "wholly indefensible."

THE WRONG MAN: This "luck-of-the-draw" justice, which still sends people to their death, is often proved wrong. Yale Law professor Edwin M. Borchard in 1932 selected for analysis 65 cases "from a much larger number" of miscarriages of justice. Of these 29 were convicted due to mistaken identification by alleged victims or witnesses. (In one case 17 persons wrongly identified the man. Only in two cases was there a striking resemblance between the accused and the actual guilty party.)

Circumstantial evidence falsely convicted 15 of the 65. Perjury and deliberate frame-ups accounted for the other miscarriages. In eight of the 65 cases the accused narrowly escaped execution. (In one case the man was already on the gallows, but when the death warrant was read, it was discovered that a typist had inserted the name of the jury foreman instead of the prisoner's. There was a reprieve, then a commutation and, years later, vindication.)

Borchard adds: "How many wrongfully convicted persons have actually been executed, it is impossible to say." He referred only to the criminal cases, not the "politicals." Their deaths make another category of the indefensible.

On April 5 Santos Rodriguez, 26, came out of the State Prison Colony in Norfolk, Mass., after serving 2½ years of a life sentence for murder. The real murderer had confessed. Last week Rodriguez was celebrating in New York. Had eye-for-eye justice prevailed there would have been only a note of regret to his next-of-kin and a bitter posthumous rehabilitation.

CLING TO MERCY: Clarence Darrow summed up the centuries-long experience of the rack, rope and faggot:

"Justice is something that man knows little about. He may know something about charity and understanding and mercy, and he should cling to these as far as he can."

Penologists struggling with the medieval concepts, the sadism and raw, ugly brutality of 20th century prison administration have warned that abolition of capital punishment is only one phase of the reform that's needed; that life imprisonment can be a greater agony than a quick death.

But the late Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing suggested that every execution has an effect far beyond the death chamber or the prison. He wrote in the Elmira, N.Y., **Telegram** in 1926:

"Executions, like war, brutalize men."

CLARENCE DARROW

To him execution was a crime

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO on April 18 Clarence Seward Darrow was born in Kinsman, Ohio. In a lifetime of 81 years he championed in the law courts the poor, the rebels and those warped by life into crime.

He defended the right to teach the theory of evolution in the schools in the celebrated Scopes trial. He took up the unpopular defense of the young Chicago murderers Loeb and Leopold. Eugene V. Debs and the Scottsboro Boys were among those he defended.

But at the end of a career of legal battling he found legal justice largely a fiction and wrote: "The state furnishes no machinery for arriving at justice . . . The penal law simply takes a man into its hopper and grinds out a criminal at the end."

He found the property laws were "arbitrary acts whose sole purpose is to keep the great mass of property in the hands of the rulers and exploiters and to send to jail those who help themselves and who have not other means within their power to sustain their lives."

To Darrow capital punishment was a crime. Though in debate he was bitter, ironic, combative, he preached passive resistance and an abiding mistrust of power in any hands. He wrote:

"Force is wrong, both to commit and to redress evil . . . All that can help the weak is the rule of brotherhood, of love . . . To make the weak strong, and the strong weak could neither destroy injustice nor permanently change the wretched order of the world. A bayonet in the hand of one man is no better than in the hand of another. It is the bayonet that is evil and all of its fruits are bad."

We can hardly wait, father

SAN FRANCISCO (UP)—The "father of the H-bomb" says a nuclear war, far from destroying mankind, could bring forth "a new age, an age of plenty."

Dr. Edward Teller, associate director of the University of California radiation laboratory, and director of research of the first H-bomb project, said that in the event of a devastating nuclear war, he believes a decreased population would result in "plenty."

Among other things, Teller predicted there will be plenty of cheap nuclear power, man will increase his food supply, utilizing the virtually untapped sources in the world's oceans, and man will also learn to control the weather.

By 2150 the population of the world will have increased to 20 billion as compared with today's excess of two billion, said the scientist.

"The greatest difficulty will be learning how to live with each other."

—Coos Bay (Ore.) **Times**, 3/18

THE TRUTH ABOUT TAXES—II

What you can do to get a fair shake

April 15, Bob Hope said the other night on TV, is the day the government collects the money to keep Old Glory and John Foster Dulles flying.

Where our tax money goes (where it ought to go), and where it comes from (as against where it ought to come from), are legitimate concerns of every taxpayer and should be of special interest to the wage-earner who pays the great load of our tax bill while special interests get away free or nearly so. (Read I. F. Stone's Weekly *of April 8 on how the Arabian-American Oil Co.—ARAMCO—has conspired with the Treasury Dept. and King Saud to avoid U. S. income taxes entirely since 1948).*

This article is the second of a two-part survey of the tax situation undertaken by a GUARDIAN "Truth Team." The facts have been checked with authorities; the programs for relief have been compiled from the best thinking of labor economists and individuals to whom the GUARDIAN has submitted the problem. Our "Truth Team" as a practical matter has approached the economy as it is, Cold War and all, urging elimination of "extravagance and waste" from what is euphemistically called our "defense" program. Without disagreeing, we repeat here our often-stated view that the best defense program is a program of peace and cooperation with the rest of the world. This means as a starter full trade with China, the Soviet Union and the nations around them, and eventually an end for stockpiling the means of war.

Meanwhile, we think you should be putting the heat on your Congressman and Senators for a real reduction of taxes for wage-earners in the coming year. If you're looking for a single issue on which the greatest number see eye to eye, look no farther. Taxes is (or are) it!

OLD GENERALS don't fade away; they get high-paying jobs with big corporations engaged in "defense" work. Like MacArthur of Remington Rand and at least 60 others. In this way, the Pentagon and the monopolies team up to dispose of the defense budget to their mutual advantage.

Thus, 100 of the biggest corporations were able to hog nearly two-thirds of all prime contracts from 1950-1955. Most of these were obtained through private negotiations, not public, competitive bidding. And, for our "security," the lush expenses, concessions and profits are kept secret.

You'd think that, since you're being taxed so heavily for defense, Big Business would at least kick in proportionately. You have another think coming.

Prices of key defense materials—steel, copper, pig iron, etc.—more than doubled between 1945 and 1951 and have continued to climb. The corporations write their own price tag on defense items and the Pentagon rarely quibbles.

In 1950, General Motors, the leading war contractor, hit a profits peak of 34.8% of its net worth. All manufacturing companies averaged profits of 15.8% of their net worth. After taxes, that is.

You hear people say that even if defense spending is wasteful, it makes jobs; it helps us avoid a depression.

The fact is that there would be a lot more jobs if a sizable chunk of military money were spent on low-cost housing, schools, hospitals, roads, etc. Our country would be a happier place to live in, with socially-useful projects instead of junkpiles of scrapped planes, guns and tanks.

Seven billion interest

As for the rest of the Federal budget, we certainly want to honor our obligations to veterans of past wars ($4.9 billion). We should like to see the government spend even more than the 9 billion dollars set aside for public welfare projects such as flood control, aid to farmers, soil conservation, housing, the Labor Dept., etc. For example, considering the housing shortage, we should certainly spend more than the 60 cents a year per capita allotted to housing.

But there's one budget item that's a shocker: Interest on the national debt—7 billion dollars. This is 10% of the total budget.

This sum—equal to $42 per capita of the whole U.S. population—is paid annually to the banks, insurance companies, big corporations and wealthy individuals who have invested in government bonds and securities. They've got a mortgage on the government totaling 278 billion

$278,000,000,000

dollars. It takes a substantial slice of your yearly tax payments to meet the interest on this debt—and it gets bigger year after year!

The wealthy will keep on unloading the tax bill on you as long as it works. They've got plenty of schemes, including a fat Federal sales tax. And they can figure out more state and local taxes too.

Grumbling won't make things better. If you feel you deserve a fairer deal on taxes—and are ready to do something about it—here are some proposals.

What should be done

Tax exemptions for individuals could be raised from the present $600 to $1,000 a person. This would amount to an average tax saving of $80 annually for every individual and dependent and would exempt from taxation the lowest level income families. To poor families it means an extra meat dinner once a week, some decent clothes or a vacation for a youngster.

These refunds from personal income taxes would cost the government from 8-9 billion dollars. It's money that would be well-spent from a humane and a business standpoint: this money would provide added purchasing power to stimulate the economy.

We can get the money to pay for these tax exemptions by plugging the loopholes for the wealthy. This tally-sheet shows how much additional revenue could be obtained:

	(in Billions)
Income Splitting	$3.5
Estate and gift	1.0
Non-taxable interest, dividend credits and exclusions	0.8
Capital gains	1.0
Family partnerships	0.2
Depletion	1.5
Rapid amortization	1.5
Accelerated depreciation	2.0
Excess profits tax	3.0
Evasion	1.5
Miscellaneous (including executive compensation schemes, foundations, etc.)	0.5
TOTAL	$16.5

The tax law could be changed so that corporations earning more than $25,000 would pay a graduated tax rate instead of the flat 52%. Thus, a company like General Motors would pay a higher tax rate than its less profitable competitor, American Motors, in line with the ability-to-pay principle as applied in personal income taxes.

A withholding tax should be placed at the source on dividends, interest, rent and similar income. If a worker's wages can be withheld, why not the coupon clipper's earnings? Aside from the morality, it would add several hundred millions of dollars to the Treasury.

We should insist that the billion-dollar junkpiles and all extravagance and waste be eliminated from our defense appropriations; that all defense contracts be advertised for public bidding; that every contractor who gets an award should be required to detail all expenses and profits.

The billions thus saved could build homes, schools, hospitals, roads and other badly-needed improvements. There's a shortage of more than 370,000 school classrooms; 230,000 general hospital beds; millions of dwelling units.

Just supposin'

[Little is] heard of the "rapid write-offs" by companies of the value of their plants and equipment. By means of such write-offs, corporations not only avoid or defer taxes but also, in effect, get "interest-free loans" from the government.

While such write-offs are limited to corporations, they can be illustrated in terms of an ordinary taxpayer in the following manner:

Supposing you bought a $4,000 automobile and the government agreed to let you write it off over a period of four years. For the next four years, you could deduct $1,000 each year from your income in calculating your taxes. You couldn't afford not to drive.

The individual taxpayer can't get such a deal, of course. As in the case with all choice tax loopholes, the number of beneficiaries is necessarily limited.

—Madison, Wis., **Capital Times**, 4/8

Such Federal expenditures would relieve many states now financing these construction projects through local "nuisance" taxes.

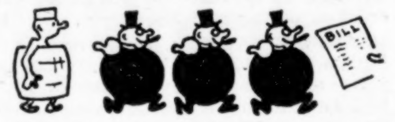
The government must take steps to lower the interest rate on the national debt. The present average rate of approximately 2.5% should be lowered to 1% and the 4.2 billion dollars in savings a year should be used to cut down on the 278 billion dollar national debt.

Can it be done?

It's not going to be easy to put over a fair and equitable tax program. Rich Republicans and rich Democrats alike will oppose it, and they wield the most influence in both parties. The press, radio and TV will be against it. They not only live off Big Business; they **are** Big Business.

Who would be for it? The 70% of America's families who earn less than $5,000 a year, and a good proportion of salaried people up to $10,000 a year.

That should be a winning combination, provided there's some action behind it. But there's been very little.



You get overcharged at the store and you squawk to the owner. Do you squawk to your Congressman about the whopping overcharge on taxes?

Can a fair tax program really be put over? Of course, it can. Here's an example:

When the campaign for unemployment insurance began in the early 30's, employers, politicians and the press denounced it as "communistic," and said it would bankrupt the country. They called it a "dole" and said it would make American workers shiftless.

It took time, organization, energy, money and sacrifice—but now unemployment insurance is accepted as a fact of American life.

It's a big job—but there are 17 million organized union members and their families who alone could swing it, not counting millions of unorganized wage-earners who need a tax cut at least as much.

It's a big, basic issue—the well-being of America's low-income families against the greed of the wealthy and powerful.

Every Congressman can and must be made to take a stand on this question and be judged accordingly.

When you open your pay envelope this week—and every week thereafter—remind yourself that there's something missing that rightfully belongs to you. And you won't get it back without a fight.

BUDGET BEATERS

The 49 honeymoon couples at Butlin's Holiday Hotel in Brighton, England, are smiling because they married just before the end of the fiscal year on April 5. They are called 'Budget Beaters' because they can claim marital income tax deductions for the entire year.

Washington blind

(Continued from Page 1)

demanded "a new national coalition government." The crowds dispersed without violence.

Reports at GUARDIAN press time said that Hussein had dismissed Army Chief of Staff Nuwar, arrested Nuwar's followers and set up a compromise government, with former Premier Nabulsi as Foreign Minister and the reputedly pro-West Dr. Hussein Fakhri Khalidi as Premier.

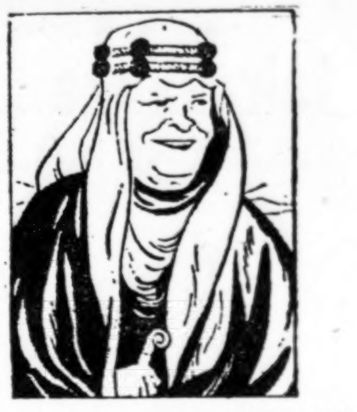
As Hussein—at least publicly—reaffirmed a policy of neutrality, Jordan remained tense. Syrian and Saudi Arabian troops—sent in during the invasion of Egypt—remained on Jordan's borders. Israel uneasily watched her borders. Iraq was said to be ready to pounce in the event of Jordan's disintegration.

HANDOUTS AGAIN: Throughout the Middle East Washington continued its policy of shoring up feudal rulers to protect American oil interests, trying to isolate Egypt's President Nasser and attempting to soothe the Israelis with words which more often than not proved contradictory.

On April 8 James Richards, President Eisenhower's roving doctrinal ambassador, doled out $10,000,000 to Iraq to bolster its "communications system." The next day Washington signed a $50,000,000 agreement with Saudi Arabia. It obtained a five-year renewal on the Dharan air base in exchange for American assistance in expanding the Saudi Arabian army and air services. It knuckled under again to Saudi Arabia's ban on American servicemen of Jewish origin.

The military aid, however, failed to appease King Saud, who protested strongly against the passage of an American tanker through the Gulf of Aqaba with a cargo of oil to the Israeli port of Elath. It turned out that the American-flag tanker had been chartered by Israel. Its sailing through the Gulf—in the U.S. State Dept's view—did not help establish the right of "innocent passage" which Secy. of State Dulles insisted earlier that the U.S. wanted to establish.

"CLEARLY AGREED": Washington complained that Israel had taken matters in her own hands without consulting the State Dept. Israel insisted it had been "clearly agreed" last March that she would charter private U.S. ships for passage through the Gulf. She contended that Washington had even promised to tell any doubting ship captain it had no objection to the trip.



Regards, Paris

Ike Abd el Oil

Cairo announced on April 13 the formal reopening of the Suez Canal to ships of all nations except Israel, which "has just waged war against Egypt." Israel was reported to have been persuaded by Washington to postpone sending a test ship through the canal.

In New Delhi, visiting British Labour leader Aneurin Bevan told a news conference April 11 that Israel attacked Egypt under intense provocation. Bevan said he found Indian opinion "becoming a little more instructed in this issue."

A LESSON IN TOLERANCE: Speaking at the 50th anniversary dinner of the American Jewish Committee on April 10, UN Secy. General Hammarskjold, although under severe criticism in Israel, hailed the Israeli Kibbutzim (cooperative settlements) "as fellow workers in an experiment in progress." He praised their "courageous experiments in practical and total democracy."

Taking his cue from a phrase in the UN Charter preamble which urged member nations "to practice tolerance," Hammarskjold said: "The work for peace must be animated by tolerance . . . To some the word 'tolerance' may sound strange in a time of 'cold war' and of negotiations 'from positions of strength' . . . It may have an overtone of meekness or appeasement. [Yet] it is not the weak but the strong who practice tolerance."

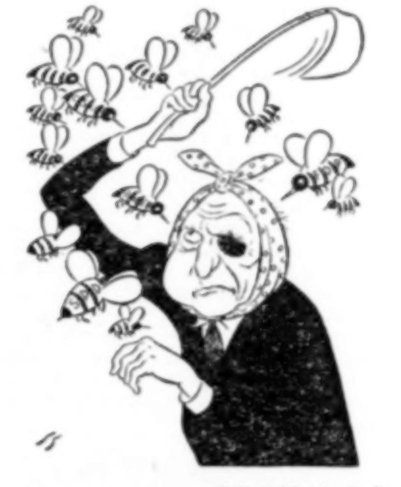
Obviously referring to the UN action in halting the war in Egypt, Hammarskjold said: "Deeply regrettable though the conflicts of views and interests were, it should not be forgotten that those who now feel they had to sacrifice for the maintenance of a principle, in a different situation may be the first to profit from the fact that the principle was maintained." Some interpreted this as a pledge to protect Israel against any Arab attack.

ANOTHER PACT? While the Middle East remained in ferment, Vice President Nixon was reported (Robert Allen, **N. Y. Post,** 4/11) to have discussed the formation of a U.S.-sponsored North African military alliance during his recent African tour. This alliance would be composed of France, Italy, Spain, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and, eventually, perhaps Algeria. The reason behind the scheme: the "enhanced American prospects for participating in immensely promising oil discoveries in Algeria, [considered] among the richest in the world."

(The Paris **Tribune des Nations,** quoted by **GUARDIAN** correspondent Anne Bauer (3/4), asked: "Is it true that in order to obtain U.S. support [at UN on France's Algerian policy] Mollet had to consider turning important shares in Sahara and South Algerian gas and mineral concessions . . . over to American interests?")

FOLLOWING SUIT: In Europe, Washington faced new problems with Britain's announcement that it would reduce its military commitments abroad and depend on guided missiles and nuclear weapons for defense at home. James Reston reported (**N.Y. Times,** 4/11), that Washington was disturbed by the possibility that West Germany and France might follow Britain by cutting their defense budgets sharply and launching "a major nuclear weapons program for their own defense."

West German Chancellor Adenauer, in fact, has already announced a reduction in the number of German troops promised to NATO and demanded nuclear arms. He faced strong opposition at home, however, climaxed by the refusal of 18 top West German scientists, including four Nobel Prize winners, to work on nuclear weapons (see Report to Readers, p. 2).



Kurt Poltiniak, Berlin

"These opposition parties are getting more and more annoying!"

THAT OLD BURDEN: The British announcement also made Washington wonder who will provide the ground forces if its European allies cut their conventional armies to the bone? The answer was given by one Pentagon official: "I suppose we may have to pick up some pieces of the British load. We've been doing that since 1947" (**N. Y. Herald Tribune,** 4/5). This possibility worried the **N. Y. Times** into writing a remarkably candid editorial (4/7). It said:

"We might pick up some of the load Britain is about to lay down, as we did a decade ago in Greece and Turkey . . . This will be difficult, because our people are already cruelly taxed and our vast resources are strained by the requirements of defense."

The U.S. might follow Britain and "prepare deliberately for an atomic war," the editorial continued, but "this would be planned suicide." The only alternative, it said, "is to come to an understanding with Russia for . . . abolition of the atomic weapons [and] a large measure of disarmament in other weapons and a vast reduction in the number of men under arms."

But, the editorial added, this would require inclusion of China in the discussions—which is what the Soviet Union and India have been saying all along.

TURKEY AND PAKISTAN: The Baghdad Pact, SEATO and NATO are all in bad shape.

- Turkey, described by Washington as "the eastern anchor of NATO and the western anchor of the Baghdad Pact," is in such poor condition that many U.S. officials "think that it is only Turkey's ultra-strategic position in the Middle East that keeps it on the U. S. aid payroll" (**Business Week,** 4/13).
- Pakistan, the linchpin of SEATO and a member of the Baghdad Pact, is suffering acutely from territorial and economic problems. Divided in two units differing culturally and separated by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, Pakistan is undergoing strong "separatist tendencies" (**N. Y. Times,** 4/14). A NATO official in Paris told the **Times** (4/7) that "the NATO concept had been shattered" by the British plan to reduce its forces abroad.

But in Washington the blinders to the facts of life were still being worn.

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The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

The Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

and dirty with it, because we are degraded with the Congress which perpetuates its franchise."

IS BACH SUBVERSIVE? Main target of the probers was the Metropolitan Music School of 18 W. 74th St. Founded in 1935 as a non-profit cooperative, the school is interracial and includes many noted musicians as sponsors. Its president emeritus is Dr. Wallingford Riegger, one of America's best known modern composers. Its nearly 400 students are mostly children, many of them studying under scholarships awarded by the school. The school issued this statement as the hearings got under way:

"The Metropolitan Music School has as its primary function the teaching of music. In addition to the courses in instruments, voice and theory, we are proud to have pioneered in developing courses for children, and in jazz and folk music. We have also granted thousands of dollars in scholarships, giving special attention to the needs of Negro and Puerto Rican children. We have also tried to familiarize our students, faculty and the public with the musical achievements of many people—in particular those of the American Negro.

"We can't be subversive; unless Bach, Chopin, Brahms and Beethoven are subversive. In subpenaing members of our faculty and the directors, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is seeking to justify its waste of public funds. It is inventing threats to our country and attempting to discover subversion where none exists. The Committee seeks to blacklist musicians. We are determined, however, to go ahead with the job we have been doing for 22 years—teaching music."

SELF-RESPECT KEPT: Dr. Riegger, now in his seventies, stood on the First Amendment in refusing to answer questions and scorned committee threats of a citation for contempt. He said: "As an American, I fear the loss of my self-respect if I answered you."

In the four days of the hearings, a total of 37 witnesses refused to answer questions under the protection of the Fifth and First Amendments. These included Miss Lilly Popper, director of the school, Earl Robinson of "Ballad for Americans" fame, and Alan Booth, accompanist for Paul Robeson.

The Committee turned up four cooperative witnesses including John Lautner, a professional informer. Leonard Cherlin, one-time teacher at the Metropolitan School, named ten persons he said were known to him as Communists. Max Marlin testified that in the Thirties he couldn't find work as a musician until he joined the Communist Party and that after he became an orchestra leader he was compelled to hire other Communists regardless of their musicianship. Seymour Levitan named persons he described as Communists in Local 802, American Fedn. of Musicians, between 1938 and 1941.

THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN: Through another witness, David Walter, the Committee sought to show that there are or have been Communists in the Symphony of the Air, formerly the NBC Orchestra formed expressly for the late Arturo Toscanini. Walter was uncooperative.

Earl Robinson on the stand illustrated his responses to questions with snatches of songs and tunes and so impressed prober Clyde Doyle (D-Calif.) with his famous "The House I Live In" that Doyle bought a copy of it on the spot.

New York's Spanish-language paper, **El Diario de Nueva York,** took special note of the probe because of the Metropolitan School's policy of emphasizing scholarships to Puerto Ricans. It also reported it had learned that the Committee next week will begin an investigation of Puerto Ricans in New York City, State and Federal government posts. The paper said other reports indicate that Committee investigators are now in Puerto Rico checking on those who have appointed Puerto Ricans to office in this country.

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Sobles plead guilty

(Continued from Page 1)

April 10, the clerk in Judge Levet's court called the Soble case as the first one on the day's calendar. William J. Tompkins, Asst. Attorney General in charge of the Internal Security Division of the Dept. of Justice, announced that the Sobles had decided to change their plea on one count. The judge set May 3 for sentencing.

Outside the courtroom the Sobles' attorney, George Wolf, told reporters that his clients had been unable to "escape the long arm of Russia." He implied that whatever they did had been done to protect relatives in the Soviet Union. He called their story "an amazing tale which borders on the fantastic—more fantastic than **War and Peace.**"

THE OTHER COUNTS: The change of plea left five counts on which the Sobles could still be tried. One of these charged the actual transmittal of defense information which could, upon conviction, carry the death penalty.

The **N. Y. Times,** indicating that the Sobles may have saved themselves from a possible death sentence, said: "Normally, at the time of sentencing, defense counsel makes a motion to dismiss the remaining counts of the indictment; usually the government agrees. Meanwhile, the possibility of a trial on the remaining counts tends to serve as a whip to encourage the defendants to cooperate."

The **N. Y. Herald Tribune** said it had been indicated that the government's agreement to dismiss the other counts "may well depend on the 'cooperativeness' of the pair in the interim."

A move for "cooperation" came swiftly. The Sobles were taken directly from the court to the room where the grand jury has been deliberating in secret on "spy rings" and where, it was reported, new indictments may be in the making. Their appearance was understood to be voluntary. They testified for 40 minutes.

BORIS MORROS
Everybody knew Boris

BORIS MORROS: The abrupt change of plea was difficult to understand inasmuch as there is yet no clear picture of what secrets were supposed to have been pilfered and how they were delivered. The indictment referred only to meetings in which "papers with writing thereon" were said to have been passed to "individuals." The only witness announced by the government was movie producer Boris Morros.

U.S. Attorney Williams called Morros "a loyal and respected citizen." But **Newsweek** (3/11), referring to "the shadowy side of Morros' life," said he had been under FBI surveillance since 1943. The magazine sketched Morros' post-war activities this way:

"Everybody soon came to know Boris Morros, but nobody ever knew for sure just what he was doing in that maelstrom of espionage and black-market deals, Vienna. He always had big deals coming up, including one that involved a uranium mine, but nothing much ever seemed to come of them . . . Some thought him a 14-carat phony . . . "

"MYSTERIOUS RUMOR": Newsweek said he had one "run-in" with U.S. authorities when he paid $60,000 to the Russians for a film, contrary to U.S. policy: "At that time a mysterious rumor went round that further investigation into Morros' activities had been cut short by orders from Washington."

Morros was a successful producer in Hollywood, but his claims to having been a child musical prodigy who played regularly for the Czar were obscure. His claim that he was musical director for the famous revue of the Twenties, Nikita Balieff's **Chauve Souris,** and that he wrote the show's hit tune, "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers," was debunked by Balieff's widow. She said Morros had nothing to do with the show or the tune. **Newsweek** said that "many of his old colleagues still cocked a skeptical eye at Morros' veracity."

Meanwhile, Jacob Albam, 64, his innocent plea to all charges still standing, faced a grimmer trial alone. From his jail cell there came no comment.

THE SLACK CASE: The chain of events in the Soble case recalled a tragedy on the sidelines of the Rosenberg trial, though no direct parallels could be drawn. Witness Harry Gold, who said he had been a spy for the Russians, had charged, among other things, that Alfred Dean Slack, a chemist in Syracuse, had given him a "sample of a secret explosive." The FBI quickly announced that Slack had "confessed" but Slack stubbornly persisted in proclaiming his innocence.

He was charged with wartime espionage, which carries the death penalty, and was taken under heavy guard to Tennessee. His wife and two children were left penniless. After months of imprisonment Slack pleaded guilty to a lesser charge and was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. When he appealed his case in 1952 he testified, according to the **N. Y. Times** (6/20/52), ". . . that a Government prosecutor, Mr. Meek, told him . . . he would be paroled after a few years if he pleaded guilty, and accepted a ten-year term."

"A PRIVATE MESSAGE": This was how Slack explained his plea of guilty to a crime he says he did not commit: "At the same time, due to newspaper publicity, public hysteria was at a peak. It was my understanding and it was my belief that if this case went to trial in a court of law that public hysteria alone would convict me, and with that hysteria I would get the maximum sentence."

In his book **The Atom Spies,** reporter Oliver Pilat wrote that Slack's prosecution "really carried a private message to others exposed by Gold: If you tell what you know, and thereby help to unroll the net further, you may receive as much leniency as can be arranged through the courts; otherwise you will get the legal limit."

John Wexley, in his **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** said that when Slack "confessed" David Greenglass was in prison and that Slack's guilty plea "acted as a catalyst in making Greenglass realize his helplessness and the utter futility of further resistance."

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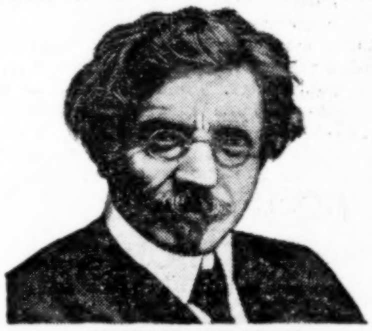
Mendele in Africa

In May, 1954, "The World of Sholom Aleichem," an evening of three plays adapted from the work of the brilliant and beloved Yiddish writer, opened in New York. The production closed a year later and since that time has been performed with huge success in Chicago, Washington, Los Angeles, Buenos Aires, London, Montreal and Madrid. It toured 48 American cities and will be given in Spanish in Mexico City next year. Last week we received the following communication from Arnold Perl, the dramatizer of the work and co-producer with Howard da Silva of the New York production. Perl has just completed another Sholom Aleichem adaptation, "Tevye, the Dairyman," which will be presented in New York next fall.

"THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM" opened in Johannesburg, South Africa, last Jan. 22. Cecil Williams, a South African producer, directed the play. Previously Williams had produced and directed such plays as **Home of the Brave, Deep Are the Roots, Winterset, The Trouble-Makers** and some Shakespeare. He opened to excellent notices and the play ran in Joburg for six weeks, making an extraordinary showing at the Reps Theatre there. David Kossuth, British film and theater star, played the lead roles of Mendele and Bookseller and Aaron Katz, but for the most part the cast was South African.

The play then moved for a three-day booking to Praetoria, some 35 miles from Johannesburg, and thence opened (on March 21) in Capetown. Here too it received splendid notices and is now in its fourth week. The local papers have reported the play as having attained a "record run" in Joburg.

SINCE MY FIRST ENCOUNTER with Williams, some eight months back, he had often expressed a desire to present the play before a Negro African audience. Last week the following letter arrived:


SHOLOM ALEICHEM

"After the booking in Praetoria, a development took place which will interest you. We were booked to play on Thursday in Alexandra Township. This is an African freehold township on the outskirts of Johannesburg—a vivid illustration of African urban conditions: a slum with a few good dwellings, no municipal services, disease and crime a-plenty. I had booked the local cinema; the show was well-advertised, with write-ups in the main African newspaper.

"Now for ten weeks the residents of Alexandra have been boycotting their bus service into the city—a distance of nine miles. The boycotters walk 18 miles or more a day to get to and from work. The Government has intervened with cruel interference by the police in order to smash the boycott which they regard not as an economic protest but as a political struggle. The Africans have been heroic, marching daily in our summer heat and drenching summer showers.

"At the time of our performance, they had rejected a sincere (but silly and unwieldy)) compromise offer, upon which the English press withdrew its support. Also, at boycott meetings, there were disturbances—no doubt engineered by the bus company. Consequently, I gather (I was already in Capetown several hundred miles away), members of the play company got cold feet. Visions of white women raped and white men massacred spring easily to minds obsessed with fear. Despite my telegrams, the decision was taken to cancel the date. I was heart-broken, because it was to have been an entirely new venture—for the first time a real company of whites actually taking its show to an African township. However, there it was. But my reputation among the Africans was not entirely destroyed by this breach of faith, because that Friday and Saturday night we played at the Bantu Men's Social Center in the middle of Johannesburg.

"The reception of the plays was staggering. They knew who **Bontche Schweig** was well enough. But in **High School** the audience was completely at home—this is their story today! Separate lines in the play were cheered tumultuously: "Education should be free and for everyone" . . . "No one should have to beg for an education." And when Aaron Katz came to the line "Strike!", the words were supplied for him by a completely exalted audience.

"Previously, during the Johannesburg run, we took the whole show one afternoon to the University Great Hall, where we performed for 1,200 African, Indian and Colored (Mulatto) school children. Their response was fine. They didn't miss a thing. I thought their reaction was more perceptive than would have been that of an audience of white children.

"I have already made enquiries about performances for non-whites down here in Capetown."

THE SHOW BUSINESS WEEKLY, Variety, of April 3, 1957, carries the story, date-lined Johannesburg, Apr. 2. The headline is "Sholom For All in S. Africa Tour." The lead sentence of the story is **"The World of Sholom Aleichem,** which started out off-Broadway in 1953, has now crashed the Union of South Africa color line . . ."

Arnold Perl

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They were all told to cut down on cigarettes, eat and drink more sensibly and get more exercise and sleep.

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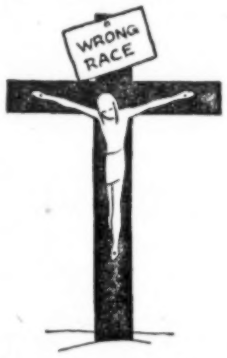
the SPECTATOR

Hawkinsville recalled

PULASKI COUNTY ATTORNEY JOHNSON and Circuit Judge Whaley are still trying to convince "outsiders" that 24-year-old sawmill worker Willie Sanford wasn't lynched near Hawkinsville, Ga., about two months ago. They concede that persons who wired his extended hands above his head, bound his ankles together, slashed him and, in the Judge's words, "gutted him like an animal" before dropping him into Limestone Creek, committed an uncommonly "frenzied" murder, but, said Johnson, "we haven't had a lynching in this area in at least 30 years!"

I recall a time, more than 45 years ago, when white Hawkinsville was less sensitive about the word or the act. Walking from our cotton-and-corn farm—sometimes alone but more often with my brother—five miles to and from school in Hawkinsville, I looked upon the occasional house off the lonely road as a friendly sentinel. The big old Stanley house, just a half mile this side of Ocmulgee River bridge to Hawkinsville, had been a wayside refuge since the day my screams had brought black Rev. Stanley running out to the road. Too preoccupied with my thoughts to notice an approaching white man in a buggy, I had caught his whiplash across my shoulder because I hadn't said good morning. He gave Rev. Stanley one scared look, lashed his horse and fled. Rev. Stanley was seven feet tall; so broad, they used to say, he had to go through his doorway edgewise.



OUR FAMILIES were fast friends by the time, a year or two later, I went to spend my first night at the Stanleys. They were Baptists, as we were; Papa, too, was a preacher. Amos and Paul Stanley were about the same age as my brother and I. Not seeing Rev. Stanley when I arrived, I asked, naturally, where he was. They said he had taken some corn to the mill. We boys made quail traps, went fishing and loafed around, kidding and talking, until sundown. Evening noises were coming up from the fields and the branches and a silken mist of smoke tied the trees together in the after-sundown shadows, but Reverend Stanley hadn't come back. His wife was scared.

We sat in the dark, waiting. Mrs. Stanley tried to laugh at our nonsense, but she didn't do so well. In a little while we cut it out. We walked the path to the main road, close together, in the darkness; talked in whispers as we came back and loafed around the "lot" where the mules crunched corn and the pigs grunted and squeaked. None of us had slept when dawn came.

Someone out front was hollering: "Heyo! Heyo, there! Mrs. Stanley!" I ran with her and the boys through the yard, around the house and to the front gate. The man's dark face was ashen. He was looking back and jerking his thumb over his shoulder as he talked. His voice quavered and broke; rose in a shriek and dropped to a whisper. He kept saying he never hoped to live when such a thing happened to a brother. "Youall come with me," he said. We followed him. I didn't know what we'd see but felt as if I were going to my own grave. Nor did I wonder at the crowd we gathered as we climbed rail fences and stumbled, in the early morning dew, across stubbled fields. We all, somehow, knew Rev. Stanley had been lynched.

A SMELL OF BURNT WOOD and—I still am doubtful whether I only imagined it—of burnt flesh floated with the mist surrounding us. The sun was a blood-red disc pushing up from the horizon. We came upon a section of a field where the ground had been churned, cuffed and ploughed by a thousand broganed feet. A rail fence had been torn aside. We went through the opening into a narrow lane, beyond which was a young forest of scrub pines and oaks.

The charred body of a man was chained upright to an iron stake. All hair was burned off the head. The face was blackened skin, drawn taut, like a drum, over the cheekbones. Great empty holes had displaced the eyes. Hands and feet were gone.

When I looked around for Mrs. Stanley she was on the ground. After a time she groaned and then cried her husband's name. We pulled the stake from the ground and disentangled the chain from the torso. Some men found a piece of bagging like that used for baling cotton, and they laid Rev. Stanley upon it. Grasping its corners, they carried him home.

The Hawkinsville **Dispatch** said "the negro" had lost his head and "cursed" Mr. B. when the white man's automobile, the first in Pulaski County, tried to pass Stanley's buggy in the narrow lane and frightened the horses. Stanley and Mr. B. shot it out. Mr. B. was killed. The horses ran away. A trail of blood led to "the negro's" hiding place in a white neighbor's hayloft. The farmer begged them to "leave him be"; but they called him "nigger lover" and looped one of his trace chains about the preacher's body, and "outraged citizens dragged the negro back to the scene of his crime and burned him at the stake."

Today, at any rate, Hawkinsville blushes and stutters over the word "lynching."

—**Eugene Gordon**